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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1939

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GDR USE OF SOVIET TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT DETAILED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 39, 1981 (signed to press 21 Sep 81) p 8

Article by Lt Col W. Kopenhagen: "Big Anna"—With Three Engines in Two Nacelles"

Text Soviet, Polish and Czech pilots are in the habit of calling Antonov aircraft "Anushkas." The communications pilots of the People's Army for their part call the An-2, which has been in service for more than 20 years, just plain "Anna." Our transport pilots have now transferred this nickname to the An-26, which has replaced the reliable Il-14. VOLKSARMEE asked an An-26 crew which flew the piston-engine Ilyushin for many years what the differences between the two aircraft are. This is what they said: Major Karl-Heinz Kreller, 39, chief pilot, performance rating I, 3900 hours of flying time, calls the An-26 a new-generation transport plane with modern navigation equipment. Thanks to its loading and unloading technology, it can be loaded and unloaded more easily in half the time and is operational in bad weather by night and day.

Captain Werner Bauke, 39, co-pilot, performance rating I, some 100 hours of flying time on the An-2 and 4100 hours on the Il-14, makes mention of the more comprehensive special electrical, radio and radiometering equipment as well as the hydraulic equipment such as the hatch which can be lowered even in flight and moved under the fuselage. This feature makes it possible to drive trucks directly underneath the tail of the An-26 for loading or unloading purposes.

Captain Peter Goetze, 40, navigator, performance rating I, 4500 hours of flying time, says it is a good thing that navigational computations can now be executed more accurately, more easily and more quickly than with the slide rule as heretofore. He now has radar equipment at his disposal (which he did not have on the Il-14) and the pilots can use the second screen in the cockpit. Navigation has thus become quicker and more accurate. Under the circumstances, it is now possible to have parachutists or materials drop at the exact spot previously determined.

Since there is no radio operator any longer, the co-pilot and the navigator divide that job up between them. Cadet senior grade Rolf-Dieter Goldmann, 41, technician, 5500 hours of flying time, says that the new "Anna" requires less maintenance but that there are greater responsibilities both for him and the rest of the crew. There are more things to look out for, he says, and overall a new technical mode of operation on the part of the crew has developed.

First lieutenant Manfred Giza, 27, chief of maintenance for the flight, who has been with the transport command since 1977, looks at it from the maintenance point of view. "We, too, have more of a responsibility now," he says. "Cooperation must be closer between crews servicing the engine/air-frame and the special electric and radio equipment. Every specialist must now be better acquainted with the other specialized equipment than before. But maintenance has actually become easier because of the turboprop engines. To cite an example: On the Il-14, each cylinder had to be cleaned separately with benzine. The An-26 no longer has an oil vent on the engine. Let me exaggerate a bit and say we could service the aircraft wearing white overalls. There is another difference: There is more equipment on the An-26. Among other things, she has 24 bins which can be installed in short order in two rows three high in the freight compartment."

Historical and Technical Details

The An-26 is a further development of the An-24 passenger plane which was placed in service by AEROFLOT in 1961 under the designation of An-24B. In the mid-sixties, the higher-performance An-24W gave way to the An-24RW, which was equipped with an extra engine in the right nacelle. This helped expand usage of the aircraft on airstrips in very hot and high altitude climates. For freight use, the Antonov collective in Kiev developed the An-24T and An-24RT —the immediate forerunners of the An-26— both of which were equipped with hatches on the underside of the fuselage. The An-26, first presented at the Paris Air Show in 1969, was outfitted with an entirely new tail assembly. 1.54 m above the ground, between the two tail stabilizer fins, there is a tail hatch measuring 3.4 m by 2.4 m, which operates as a driveup ramp. Over this ramp, GAZ-69, UAZ-469 or field pieces can roll into the cargo bay on each side of which there are folding seats that can accommodate 39 infantrymen or 30 parachutists. With the aid of a built-in crane, objects up to a bulk weight of 1.5 tons each can be lifted aboard the aircraft. The An-26 has a normal payload of 4.5 tons; its maximum payload is 5.5 tons. A conveyor belt or winch transports the cargo to the mooring point. The individual items can be distributed on the conveyor in such a way that they can automatically be dropped by parachute at predetermined intervals in the landing area. The power of the An-26 corresponds to that of the An-24T and consists of two turboprop engines Al-24T and a turbo-jet engine RU 19-300 in the right nacelle. It is turned on to assist in takeoffs with maximum payloads so as to assure the climb to the cruising altitude as well as in landing and in both landing and taking off from limited space. It also serves as a means of starting the main engines, for example in the absence of auxiliary power sources on advanced airfields. In contrast to the low-wing Il-14, the An-26 is an all-metal high-wing aircraft with trapezoidal wings and a standard tail assembly. The fuselage is constructed according to the semi-monocoque method and the nose landing gear is equipped with double tires. The An-26 is used by the commercial airlines of several countries. In the USSR, in Cuba, in Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia it is also being used by the air force.

ALBANIA

CARCANI ADDRESSES YOUTH MEETING IN TIRANA

AU162035 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Summary] A meeting of youths from Tirana, Durres and Kruje districts was held today in Tirana within the framework of the 40th AWP anniversary. The meeting was also attended by Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Pilo Peristeri, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member; AWP Central Committee Secretary Prokop Murra; Gago Nesho, first secretary of the Tirana District AWP Committee, and others. The meeting was opened by Lumturi Rexha, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania. A number of young people then addressed the meeting on the achievements of their respective organizations in various production sectors, promising that they would always remain loyal to the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha and ready to implement all tasks.

The meeting was also addressed by Comrade Adil Carcani and Pilo Peristeri.

"Comrade Adil Carcani outlined the great victories achieved by our people in the country's socialist construction, the great role played in achieving these victories by the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the AWP under Comrade Enver Hoxha's leadership. Our party, he said, was born 40 years ago in stormy times, fought stormily after a tooth for tooth and eye for eye against the imperialist and revisionist enemies."

"Our heroic youth, Adil Carcani went on to say, has always been and continues to be loyal to the party. It has never questioned the party's word." The youth wrote our people's history with its blood during the national liberation struggle and is now contributing to the country's socialist construction with its efforts, writing new pages of glory and heroism on all fronts and in all sectors: in industry, agriculture, education, culture and the arts. The party and Comrade Enver highly appreciate our heroic youth and have always shown and will continue to show great concern for it, because our youth is the country's future and will take on the baton of the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

"We have a magnificent youth, Comrade Adil Carcani continued, educated by the party with a sound morality and a spirit of selflessness and sacrifice in the interest of the lofty ideals of the party and of the people. Like all the people, youths, too, are dutybound to imbue themselves profoundly with the party's and Comrade Enver's teachings, learning and raising their vocational and professional standards, being militarily prepared and always ready to answer the party's call."

In conclusion, Comrade Adil Carcani expressed his pleasure and that of all other comrades present at having attended this meeting of young people.

Pilo Peristeri's speech was also heard with considerable interest. He spoke about the time when the party was formed and Comrade Enver Hoxha's revolutionary activity.

Lumturi Rexha closed the meeting by promising that the youth will always be loyal to the party and always ready to answer its call.

CSO: 2100/17

ALBANIA

LEADERS AT METALLURGICAL COMBINE INAUGURATIONS

AU221516 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Summary] A meeting was organized at the Elbasan 'Steel of the Party' Metallurgical Combine on the occasion of the inauguration of three new projects: new plant No 12; new coke battery No 2 and new blast furnace No 2. Taking part in the meeting were workers of the metallurgical combine and inhabitants of Elbasan City. Also taking part were Hekuran Isai, Politburo member and AWP Central Committee secretary; Pali Miska, Politburo member and deputy chairman of the council of ministers; Llambi Gegrifti, candidate Politburo member; Piro Kondi, first secretary of Elbasan district AWP committee and other comrades.

The meeting was opened by the first secretary of the AWP committee of the 'Steel of the Party' metallurgical combine. Comrade Pali Miska, Politburo member and deputy chairman of the council of ministers, spoke at the meeting. He greeted the meeting on behalf of the AWP Central Committee, the council of ministers and Enver Hoxha personally. Pali Miska stated that the new projects were a result of all the people's work and creative ideas. "They are at the same time an expression of the correctness of the party's policy in building socialism relying on its own forces." Pali Miska stated that many difficulties had to be overcome to achieve these high results. Many talented workers contribute to this metallurgical combine, not only by their work but also by their example.

"Pali Miska then spoke about the achievements of the combine's workers in fulfilling their duties, for the revolutionary spirit which they characterize, and urged that these achievements be even further advanced and that the revolutionary spirit be kept alive to successfully fulfill this 5-year plan's tasks which are even greater.

A telegram was sent to the AWP Central Committee. After cutting the inauguration ribbon, the state and party leaders visited the new objects. The state and party leaders also took part in the inauguration of the new museum of the combine.

CSO: 2100/17

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

LLESHI GREETS SOMALI COUNTERPART--Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the presidium of the people's assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following message to Mohamed Siad Barre, president of the Somali Democratic Republic. On the occasion of your national holiday, in the name of the Albanian people, the presidium of the people's assembly and personally, I convey greetings and best wishes for the progress and prosperity of the Somali people. [Text] [AU201641 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 20 Oct 81]

CSO: 2100/17

'OBJECTIVE' TREATMENT OF PRUSSIAN HISTORY EMPHASIZED

'Marxist-Leninist Evaluation'

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 35 No 36, 6 Sep 81 p 8

[("History/Current Events" feature article by Helmut Meier: "Monuments and Reflections: Prussia in Our History." For a discussion of Dr Ingrid Mittenzwei's Frederick II biography (cited in footnote 2) see translation published under the heading, "Prussian History to Be Accepted as Part of GDR 'Heritage,'" in JPRS 76749, 3 Nov 80, No 1823 of this series, pp 16-34. For further references to items of related information by Mittenzwei and others see translations published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "'Progressive' Aspects of Prussian History Illustrated," 78923, 8 Sep 81, No 1916, pp 40-48; "Academicians Analyze Significance of Prussian History, Culture," 78947, 10 Sep 81, No 1917, pp 17-31; "Historians Analyze Need for GDR National, Prussian History," 79094, 29 Sep 81, No 1922, pp 2-10; "'Progressive,' 'Reactionary' Conceptions of Prussia Contrasted," 79118, 2 Oct 81, No 1923, pp 6-12)]

[Text] Visitors to Berlin by the thousands are day after day taking a stroll through German history, as it were, while walking down Unter den Linden. From Marx-Engels Square to Brandenburg Gate, centuries have left their traces. Commissioned by diverse social forces, those structures bear their marks. The most important artists built the buildings and monuments along that street. Unter den Linden impressively manifests the contradictory course of our people's history. Berlin was a rising commonwealth, residence of the Prussian kings who represented one of the most reactionary national entities in history as well as the power center of aggressive German imperialism, and hence the breeding ground of crimes against peace and humanity. At the same time it was the site of heroic battles by the progressive class forces and a center of science and culture. Not until the triumph of socialism did it become the capital of a peace-loving state. An encounter with history thus always again evokes the question about the position of our society on the various periods and forces of history. A most compelling question concerns the place and evaluation of Prussian history in our conception of history.

Fateful Effects

As no one can choose his own history because it is past and irrevocable, we have to work out a scientifically sound standpoint, objectively and critically, and based on historical materialism. That includes Prussian history which, like the

history of other territories, is a component of German history. Because Prussia became the largest and politically most influential German territorial state we have cause to come to grips with its history most thoroughly, without neglecting the history of other German states. Because in that state a most reactionary and militant government system prevailed for centuries, fateful effects on the course and results of German history emanated from Prussia. The Prussian militarist Junker state formed the backbone for reactionary forces in other parts of Germany as well and appeared repeatedly as the head of the counterrevolution. That Germany was nationally unified under Prussian leadership lent a most reactionary and rapacious character to German imperialism, so that Prussianism, domestically and abroad, became the embodiment of political reaction and extreme aggressiveness. For that reason it always was the aim of the progressive and revolutionary forces of the German people to destroy that bastion of reaction. In particular, it is among the honorable pages of the revolutionary German workers movement to have conducted an uncompromising and sacrificial struggle against reactionary Prussianism. This tradition of struggle was established by Marx and Engels, carried on by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, Karl Liebknecht and Franz Mehring, and found worthy successors in the KPD struggle against German imperialism and militarism and in the antifascist struggle. Its culmination came with the destruction of Prussian Junkerdom on the soil of today's GDR. Thereby reactionary Prussianism was deprived, for once and for all, of its power bases and of any influence on the history of our people.

Pioneers

Prussian history, however, is not solely defined by the reactionary rulers' policy. As in all formations of states throughout history, an incessant struggle between progressive and reactionary forces also took place in the history of Prussia, due to universally valid historic inevitabilities. Even though the progressive class forces could achieve no penetrating changes for a long time and had to suffer defeats, important influences on German history emanated from their efforts which are worthy of our appreciation. As pioneers for a order of social justice, which has been brought to realization in the socialist GDR, high tribute is paid to them as an important element in the GDR's historic traditions. In that sense we pay tribute to the struggle by Brandenburg townspeople against encroachments by the Junkers and princes, to the peasants' tenacious struggle against feudal burdens, to the work of such important scientists and artists as Leibniz, Wolff, Thomasius, Schlueter, Klopstock, Gleim, Schinkel, Schadow and Rauch, to the achievements of the Prussian reformers, to the heroic workers and middle-class struggle in the 1848-49 revolution, and to the traditions of struggle by the revolutionary German social democracy in the Prussian territories. All these forces and their operations are evidence that social reaction found in Prussia itself its fiercest enemies. Not even the most ruthless and sophisticated government system could suppress the desire for progressive change.

Socialist society confronts those reactionary forces implacably, demarcating itself rigorously from them. In contrast it identifies with all those forces that have a share in making social progress prevail. Those forces a visitor will find in the capital, in the form of monuments of Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Blauecher, Baron von Stein, and the Humboldt brothers. Also Schinkel's New Guard, turned into a memorial site for the victims of fascism and militarism, reminds of those forces.

The fact that Berlin was the residence of the Prussian kings is brought home by many representative buildings which once served as the city palaces of the royal family: the Palais Unter den Linden, the Opera Cafe, Humboldt University and the building next to the Kommode. This way the observer is time and again faced with the question as to what our position is on the ruling class in Prussia and its representatives. Not by coincidence an answer to the question often concentrates on Frederick II, who constitutes a model figure of those forces, as it were. Bourgeois historiography has placed a halo around him for centuries and attached the sobriquet "the Great" to him. To generations he has been presented as a symbolic figure for purported "Prussian virtues" and "historic greatness."

Conqueror

Indubitably, he had a weighty influence on the history of Prussia and of the German people. Primarily, however, that was an ominous influence. As the ruler of the Prussian state Frederick II consistently championed the interests of the Prussian Junker class. Thus he protected the privileges of the aristocracy and repressed any protest by the peasantry against feudal oppression with the force of arms. His wars also lay in the interest of his class comrades. No sooner had he come to the throne than he destroyed the illusions he had fostered as a crown prince, that he would break away from militarism and despotism, and started an undeclared war of conquest. For a whole decade he exhausted the meager material and human resources of his subjects in order to secure for Prussia the rank of a big power by the conquest of Silesia. Following the Prussian Junkers' drive toward conquest, he became the initiator of the first partition of Poland, which most heavily encumbered the German-Polish relationship. He did not care about the destiny of the emerging German nation, he only cared about his dynastic power positions. That he had a most condescending attitude toward German literature and art was attested to by the complaints from Lessing, Klopstock and Gleim.

Thus it is certain Frederick is a typical representative of Prussianism and belongs among the proponents of the reactionary class line in German history. As such he deserves no place value in the historic traditions of the socialist state which are marked by the aspirations and movements of progressive forces. And still he is part of our history and cannot be deleted from it because his work is a historic reality. That is why we must deal with him critically and understand him in every way and all-inclusively in terms of his times.

An overall assessment of Frederick II of Prussia must primarily describe him as a personality that placed his work at the service of preserving reactionary power relations. Yet we must not ignore all the positive that evolved and lasted during his reign and on his suggestion. In this we follow the example of Marx, Engels and Mehring. Franz Mehring, for example, wrote in his famous "Lessing Legend": "It goes without saying that scientific historiography has as little use for anti-Prussian mythologies as for pro-Prussian ones. Finding in Frederick the source of all that was evil is the opposite pole of the mistaken notion that makes his person the source for everything that was good."* Such an approach

*Franz Mehring, "Die Lessing-Legende," Th. Hoehle, H. Koch, and J. Schleifstein, eds., "Gesammelte Schriften" (Collected Essays), Vol 9, Berlin, 1963, p 67.

makes possible both presenting unmistakably the basic reactionary character of Frederick's policy and objectively stating those measures and results of his activity which, though contrary to his own intentions, have had long-term positive effects in history. These contradictions in the life and work of Frederick II are explained by the fact that he "in a revolutionary era absorbed the ideas of new, rising classes in France seeking power, so as to use them for the stabilization of the feudal society--which only few contemporaries of his saw and understood,"* as Ingrid Mittenzwei has cogently observed. To improve his state's functioning capacity he used means which actually did not fully conform with the socioeconomic foundations of the feudal order. During his lifetime that did not lead to serious conflicts because the bourgeois forces in Prussia were then still too weak and undeveloped to stage antifeudal operations on their own.

Thus Frederick shrank from any consistent abolition of serfdom, to be sure, but he eased the peasants' conditions on the royal demesne. Thereby he meant to enhance the peasants' tax-paying ability through encouraging their interests in production increases. Indirectly, however, he upset thereby a basic relationship of the feudal order. Also, he drained and diked the great marshes of the Oderbruch and of Rhin-Luch to enhance his state's economic capacity, but the colonists whose settlements benefited thereby received certain privileges, such as being largely freed from feudal burdens. Thereby they strengthened the bourgeois element in Prussia over the long run. A similar effect had his admitting emigrants from Bohemia, Poland, Saxony, Wuertemberg, Mecklenburg and Switzerland, whom he assured of an unrestricted exercise of their religion. Bourgeois historiography to this day makes that appear an expression of Frederick's "tolerance." Actually Frederick gave preference to the loyalty to the Prussian crown over that to a religious faith, but what he mainly cared for were economic considerations. For his land, impoverished by war, he gained willing hands, inventive brains and potent tax-payers. In fact, the evolving bourgeoisie gained numerical and economic growth from it.

Similar effects came from the codification of the Prussian Law, that set certain barriers to feudal lawlessness and fostered an intelligible legal situation indispensable for bourgeois economic undertakings. And finally one should not forget the patronage Frederick bestowed on certain arts which, among other things, gave Knobelsdorff and Gontard the opportunity to let their creative imagination range, the outcome of which made for such a wonderful ensemble of structures as Sanssouci.

Statues

Anyone who steps up to the imposing equestrian statue of Frederick II Unter den Linden, which is among the most important artistic achievements of Christian Daniel Rauch, must be aware that he is looking at one of the truly shining personalities of our history. He is face to face with one of the most pronounced representatives of reactionary Prussianism, whose policy had ominous consequences for German history. He must also consider that in spite of his main effect there were also some measures that had results quite different from what the king had intended. That also is part of the personality image of that man.

*Ingrid Mittenzwei, "Friedrich II. von Preussen. Eine Biographie." Berlin, 1979, p 206.

Incidentally, Rauch himself suggested, perhaps unintentionally, the divided character of Frederick by his monument, which had no doubt been designed to serve the glorification of the monarch. Its front and side panels show Frederick's military officers and civil servants, but his contemporaries in the fields of culture and science were crowded together on the back panel, ingenuously under the horse's tail. Thereby the monument accurately reflects the rank Frederick attributed to those forces.

Thus the Marxist-Leninist evaluation of Prussian history, as of any other historical subject, proceeds according to the principle which Comrade Erich Honecker formulated as "perceiving history in its objective, concrete pattern of development, in its overall dialectic."^{*} By applying that principle we get a comprehensive picture of events and personalities which, along with the decisive contours, also, in a more discriminating manner, records contrasting aspects.

'All-German View of History' Rejected

Magdeburg VOLKSSTIMME in German 1 Sep 81 p 3

['World Peace/A Look Into History' feature article by Karl-Heinz Dubrowsky: "We See Even Prussian History as It Was--A Chapter of History and the Two German States' Approach to It"]

[Text] FRG President Carstens likes to grant television interviews, including interviews on historical problems. When he was asked by a reporter, for example, how he felt about the GDR's dealing with Prussian history, Carstens responded that the GDR, by "reviving Prussian history" was making a contribution "to an all-German view of history."

The allegation of a "revival of Prussian history" in our republic is nothing but a feint in their own increased efforts to exploit Prussia for their own reactionary ends. A "Prussia Wave" has been inundating the FRG citizens for quite some time. At this very moment, a big Prussia Show is being mounted in West Berlin, aided by Bonn government authorities.

What is this fuss all about?

A progressive West Berlin journalist answered that question most succinctly when he wrote: "In view of increasing problems imperialism has in legitimizing its domineering rule, of the citizens being increasingly bad tempered about their state, and of the "dropping-out" of parts of the youth, the Prussia discussion amounts to some pertinent capitalist crisis management, to resorting to a *raison d'état* and to governmental functions enforcing discipline and order as found in the Prussian class state. Monopoly bosses and entrepreneurs have long been clamoring for "Prussian virtues" such as self-restraint, thrift, discipline, unselfishness, doing one's duty, serving, obeying and a sense of sacrifice--for the working people, of course, and not by that token for the monopoly bosses."

^{*}Cf. Erich Honecker, "Our Times Call for Commitment to Progress, Reason and Humanity," "Martin Luther and Our Age--Establishment of the Martin Luther Committee of the GDR, Berlin, 13 June 1980." n.p., n.d., p 12.

Classic Authors as Models

We, however, need not "revive" Prussian history. Our understanding of Prussian matters relies on the understanding the founders of Marxism and the leading representatives of the revolutionary German workers movement had about that. Thus the GDR historians could look it up in Marx, Engels and Mehring (and also in Lenin) when they started to explore still more extensively the history of Prussia, that is to say, especially its progressive sides.

This was a differentiated image of Prussia given to us by the classic authors and by Franz Mehring because they always kept in mind the dialectic of the two class lines in Prussian history, the dialectic between reaction and progress.

Like them we are implacably opposed to reactionary Prussianism which has played so ominous a role in German history with its rapacious policy against the outside, that led to the catastrophe of two world wars, and with its anti-democratism within, as shown most massively in the suppression of the revolutionary workers movement.

Marx, Engels and Mehring, on the other hand, did not ignore the progressive tendencies and aspirations in Prussian history. We too pay tribute to the work of Prussian reformers like Stein and Scharnhorst, and we carry on the line of tradition of the bourgeois democrats and fighters on the barricades of 1848, or of the struggle by August Bebel, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg against Prusso-German militarism. Why should we then have to make revisions on the revolutionary German workers movement's image of Prussia which, after 1945, was enriched by Marxist-Leninist historiography, or even should--as also alleged by bourgeois history ideologists--want to get to a "new image of Prussia"?

Rejecting such a question also means rejecting the allegation that the GDR was making a contribution to an "all-German view of history."

One White Elephant Remained

As one may recall especially in the days around 13 August, the Bonn Bundeswehr did not succeed back in 1961 in entering the GDR capital through the Brandenburg Gate with drums and pipes playing. The Hallstein Doctrine, practiced under the co-responsibility of the incumbent FRG President, which made the Bonn government sever relations with any state that would recognize the GDR, has also failed.

For their designs at "keeping the German question open" the politicians on the Rhine had only one white elephant left: the doctrine of the "unity of the German culture nation" of 1971. It is being propagated by the very people who in 1949 split up the "unified German culture nation" to preserve their rule at least in a part of Germany. The whole anachronism of that slogan becomes apparent as soon as one considers that an independent socialist German nation has evolved in the GDR and a socialist German national culture has developed.

The "all-German view of history" also is derived from the Bonn doctrine. But what can we possibly have historically in common as long as in the GDR--to stay with the example of Prussia--the progressive traditions of Prussian history are preserved and fostered, while the FRG conserves the reactionary image of Prussia?

Comrade Kurt Hager asserted before the social scientists in December 1980 in Berlin: "The thesis of a common history of the Germans, expounded in the FRG, is untenable in every sense in view of the irrevocable events of the last three decades. It is a cloak for revanchism. Nor can that thesis erase the fact that the two German states also have a diametrically opposed relationship with the past. There is no 'open German question' in that respect either."

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MARTIN LUTHER'S MERITS, LIMITATIONS ASSESSED

Ideological Perspective

Halle FREIHEIT in German 4 Sep 81 p 12

[*'Topical Themes'* feature article by Dr Heinz Kathe: "Martin Luther--The Leading Ideologue of the Reformation: His Work as Pioneer for Significant Upheavals Belongs to the Revolutionary Traditions of German History"]

[Text] In conformity with our world image, we perceive history in its objective, concrete pattern of development, in its overall dialectic. To regard it as the history of class struggles in no way entails a narrowing, but rather a real insight into the course of things. The socialist GDR, the first workers' and farmers' state on German soil, is the legitimate successor to the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the other democratic forces against capitalism and war, of the revolutionary campaigns of the peasantry, the artisans, the clerics, the intellectuals and artists, members of the middle classes, in short all who have helped bring about social advance.

(Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman, GDR State Council, at the constituent meeting of the GDR Martin Luther Committee).

Luther belongs among the great personalities of German history of world rank. His historic distinction lies in having sparked the reformation, the initial phase and, at once, the element that had a continuing hold on the early bourgeois revolution. In paying tribute to Martin Luther as a pioneer of the early bourgeois revolution between 1517 and 1526, we include his work among the revolutionary traditions of German history.

In gaining European dimensions, the reformation bestowed European rank, and eventually world rank, on Luther's work. On 13 June 1980, at the constituent meeting of the GDR Martin Luther Committee, Erich Honecker declared: "Luther put his stamp on the dominant ideas of the 16th century to a major degree. Indeed one can say that his influence on the course of history is still unmistakable today, on the threshold of the 21st century."

Luther's work is most closely tied to the start of a new world historic era, the era of decaying feudalism and of the development of mercantilist capitalism and the first bourgeois revolutions causing the gradual rise of the bourgeoisie. Luther's attacks were directed against the Papacy, the well organized international instrument of feudalism and the largest landowner in Germany.

An Attack on the Feudal Papacy

With its institutions, dogmas and ceremonies, the Church deeply encroached upon public life and helped the existing order to prevail, for instance through its practice of the confessional-box. Church and society were so much entwined that the struggle against the feudal powers, if it was to be successful, had to start with an attack against the Church, which traditionally held sway over the spirit and thinking of men.

The importance of the 95 Theses against the abuse of indulgence, which Luther posted on 31 October 1517 in the door of the Castle church at Wittenberg, lay in that their author placed in doubt the Church authority in matters of faith. He rebelled against the usurped decision authority of the Church and, thus, against its manner of leading people. That made the Papacy see in Luther not just a critic but a heretic to be persecuted pitilessly. All these persecutions only had the result of further propelling the Wittenberg professor along the road he had taken. Luther grew into the leading ideologue of the Reformation.

Of the greatest importance here was his realization that not through indulgence, requiems, pilgrimages and endowments to the Church could man stand steadfast before his God, but only through his personal belief in the Gospel. Through his doctrine on justification solely by his belief, Luther subjected the Church to a devastating critique, while upholding an individual's ability and right to pass judgment on his own. He scored its costly parasitical priestly hierarchy, the large number of holidays, its ostentatiousness, the high rating of monastic life and of the asceticism that belonged to it. Such views made ready for the new, the "cheap," church of the bourgeoisie.

The Reformer's Historic Limits

That Luther held teaching, work and occupation in high esteem and provided the theological rationale for an attack on the enormous ecclesiastic property holdings and Germany's exploitation by the Papacy reflected requirements of early capitalist development in other countries as well. For that reason the Reformation as initiated by Luther rapidly became a European phenomenon. It had started in Germany because there the social antagonisms were intensified by the opposition between economic progress, especially in mining, and political backwardness (territorial fragmentation, extended serfdom and so forth). The country had become the main object of exploitation for the Roman-Catholic Church. In the phase of the anti-Rome movement (1517-1521), Luther was called by contemporaries a "father of the fatherland." Almost all classes and strata stood behind him.

The Peasants' War, however, was fiercely rejected by Luther. In an appeal seething with hatred in 1525, he turned against the "murderous and thieving peasant bands."

That stand reveals his historic limitations. He essentially confined himself to the struggle against intellectual feudalism. The people's revolt he rejected--consistent with his own class--from his moderate bourgeois point of view. His stand against the rebellious peasants and his siding with the princes did not prevent him, however, from defending as long as he lived the moderate bourgeois Reformation against any re-Catholization attempts. Luther did not betray the peasants when he justified the use of force against the rebellious peasants because he never would have agreed to their more extended demands for social revolution.

Up to the time of his death the Wittenberg reformer held on to his alignment with the princes while he strenuously sought to reinforce and spread his doctrine. For that purpose he finished his Bible translation in 1534, the Bible becoming the most frequently edited book of the 16th century. By founding schools he initiated a general rise in the educational level. Even in 1524 he had published a tract, "To the Councilmen of All Towns in German Lands, to Establish and Maintain Christian Schools." The institutions and setups for higher education established by his fellow-combatant Philipp Melanchthon, and the textbooks he wrote, maintained their exemplary validity down to the 18th century.

Strong Impulses for the Birth of Nations

Even though the Protestant princes took control of their territorial churches and Luther did not touch the foundations of princely power, but kept to the view of the divine right and appointment behind princely authority, he did not mince his words in their presence. He spared them no admonitions and warnings. Historically more important was that the spread of the Reformation in the form of Lutherism and, what must be remembered, in the form of Calvinism in Europe strongly encouraged the birth of nations for many peoples and the formation of national languages. On the German early bourgeois revolution were based the subsequent victorious bourgeois revolutions in the northern Netherlands, England, North America and France.

Long-range Effects on Intellectual Life

The Reformation also paved the way for intellectual development carried farther by the bourgeoisie. This long-range effect ranges all the way to the age of Enlightenment and classical German philosophy and literature. The states the Reformation had given rise to--the Protestant part of Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, England and other countries--made a crucial contribution to political and economic development and to striving for mundane education of practical use. Protestant universities like Wittenberg, Jena and Halle radiated at the spiritual life of the entire continent.

Comprehensive View of Luther

East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 18-19 Oct 80 p 7

['Our Times' feature article by Dr Manfred Bogisch: "Today We See the Whole Luther--Reminiscence About a Remark by Dieckmann Concerning Our Relationship to a Historic Personality"]

[Text] According to the Fifth LDPP Congress proceedings of 1953 there was a stir in the auditorium when Johannes Dieckmann pronounced the name of Martin Luther and asked the liberal democrats to "gain strength for our course" from his work.

Various reasons explain that wonderment. Many in our party found that reformer suspect in terms of socialist construction, in particular because he had surrendered the revolutionary peasants to the princes' sword of vengeance. What, in comparison with that, had his challenge to the Pope been worth, or his steadfastness in faith, many thought. Others again had heard about the thesis discussed for some time in bourgeois historiography, that the German people's road to fascism had begun with Luther: without territorial Evangelical churches no subjects to principalities, without subjects of this coinage no Prussia, without such Prussianism no fascist movement. That was as unreasonable as the notion found occasionally that around Luther intellectual resistance could crystallize against socialism in the GDR and provide a feeding ground for political opposition.

Dieckmann's remark grew out of two considerations of principle. He thought it urgent to get started also in the LDPP with the discussion of progressive traditions which happened to have moved early in 1953 Martin Luther, within the SED, onto a focal point of critical consideration. The People's Chamber President pointed to German history also because the necessary formation of a national consciousness (the main subject with which the fifth party congress dealt) inevitably brought up the question about German patriotism in socialism. Where were there any roots for a patriotic attitude to be found if not also in the Reformation, which Dieckmann perceived, not last, as a revolt against excessive alienation killing everything national. Parallels with what was then going on were obvious: the FRG was in the process of surrendering itself to U.S. and West European interests in the form of the European Coal and Steel Community and the EDC.

This already clears the matter up: the establishment of the GDR Martin Luther Committee is nothing sensational and certainly does not initiate a revision of our view of history. Neither does Frederick the Great replace Marx, nor does Martin Luther replace Thomas Müntzer. Speaking metaphorically, it is not a matter of discovering heretofore wholly unknown continents, and all the less is it a matter, for reasons of tactics perhaps, of placing in view repressed sections and aspects of German history, for different tactical considerations.

In the GDR the socialist German nation has evolved. This fact also brings up new aspects of our national history. It refers to questions that hitherto had not arisen. Answers will and must be given, which might possibly also cause surprise because something unknown moved into the light always causes amazement, sometimes even skepticism, but mainly also new questions.

Today we see the whole Luther. The discussion Johannes Dieckmann referred to in 1953, however, mainly dealt with the reformer's relationship with the peasants in general, and with Müntzer in particular. Also consider this: we are concerned with Luther as a historic personality, not with a judgment from one side or another (be it Evangelical or Catholic), nor with rewriting a judgment of past eras for our own use. All we can be concerned with is to bring Martin Luther close enough to see how he developed within the class conflicts of his time. Familiarity with his time has been and remains the prerequisite for exploring and presenting his work and his effect on his time. As little as we have started dealing with Luther today, we surely will not be finished with it in November 1983 either.

Revolutionary Effects

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 14 No 40, 1981 (signed to press 28 Sep 80)
pp 28-29

[*'Biographies in World History'* feature article by Prof Dr Adolf Laube: "Martin Luther--Theology With Revolutionary Effects"]

[Text] My headline may be irritating to some people, to those who are wont to see in Martin Luther a man of the church only, a man of faith who gave people immediate access to a benevolent God; or to those who put an exclusive emphasis on the faith experience and on Luther's being above all time, Luther solely for grace, for faith, removed from any social determinants, his social effects, at best, being secondary. It may also irritate those who know of Luther's role in the Peasants' War and take that for the sole criterion in judging him: Luther as the butcher of peasants, enemy of Muentzer and server of princes, rather a figure of the counterrevolution, that is, than of the revolution.

Neither image of Luther is without reason. First and foremost, Luther was a theologian who labored for a new conception of God. In the Peasants' War he sharply opposed the rebels and Muentzer. Yet neither aspect *per se* is enough to do justice to Luther's historic society-transforming achievement. That achievement cannot be understood unless one understands the social crisis situation of his time and, in particular, the role of the Papacy in that society.

In the early 16th century, broad strata of the German people had come loose. Four great conspiracies under the sign of Bundschuh [symbol of the German Peasants' Confederation] in 1493, 1502, 1513 and 1517, the "Poor Conrad" uprising in Wuerttemberg in 1514, a wave of municipal insurrections of 1509 to 1514, social struggles and uprisings by the miners in vast areas of early capitalist ore mining, and a number of other movements and manifestations of opposition to prevailing conditions were symptoms of a penetrating crisis that had engulfed all society. It had been caused not only by the intensification of the main class conflict in feudalism between the feudal lords and the peasants, but mainly also by the new contradictions in connection with the spread of early capitalism.

Yet social circumstances in the beginning transition period from feudalism to capitalism were so complicated under the conditions of the deep territorial fragmentation of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" that the movements in the early 16th century remained confined regionally and locally, and remained more or less confined to certain groups socially, so that they lacked a common leadership and unifying goal. A unifying effect that would integrate the various oppositional trends could only come from an initiative directed against that institution that stood in the center of all criticism. And that, under those conditions, was the Papacy.

Rome as the Power Center

The Roman-Catholic Church had become an important power in Europe in the Middle Ages. It was not only the biggest feudal landowner in the empire, which engaged most unscrupulously in the exploitation of the peasants, it not only exercised

worldly power in the territories and principalities, which made bishops and abbots exercise governmental authority, the pope did not only confirm the emperor and interfere with the empire's policy, the church and Rome not only sucked the empire financially dry--above and beyond everything the church was the central spiritual power. It was in charge of the relations between man and God.

God was the central point of reference in the life of people in all classes and strata. A life without God was conceivable neither for the emperor nor for peasants and plebeians. Yet the church alone handled the relations between men and God. It determined the concept of God, its doctrines were compulsory and universally valid. Anyone who differed in his thoughts from what the church permitted was persecuted as a heretic and could be banned from society, could even be killed. And it was this ideological monopoly the church used to stabilize the prevailing feudal society. Therefore no way toward social change could by-pass the church, or rather, any attempt at fundamental social change under those conditions had to start with the church. "For existing social conditions to be touched, the halo had to be stripped off from them" (Friedrich Engels). If it was to be proven that existing conditions as sanctioned by the church contradicted the true will of God, the social order lost its legitimacy.

For centuries there had been anticurial, indeed early reformation, propensities. Yet for one thing, the church was solidly embedded in more than thousand years of tradition and could not be shaken by a criticism of its external, worldly character or of its internal abuses. And then again, social conditions had not yet matured for an anticurial initiative to become the platform for a subversive revolutionary movement. The overall social crisis in the empire under the conditions of the beginning transition from feudalism to capitalism in the early 16th century created the bases for a reformation theology to become the crucial revolutionary impulse, which it indeed had to become provided this theology succeeded in upsetting the dogmatic principles of the church. In accomplishing just that, transforming social effects emanated from Luther which were totally different from the earlier ones of Wyclif in England and even of Hus and the revolutionary Hussite movement in Bohemia.

95 Theses

Martin Luther was born on 10 November 1483 as the son of a small mining entrepreneur, whose family was still closely connected with the peasantry, in Eisleben. When he in 1517 came out with his famous 95 theses against the church abuse of indulgence, he was an Augustinian friar and district vicar in charge of eleven monasteries and professor of biblical literature at Wittenberg University. What mattered to Luther, however, was not only the externals appearing most repugnant to him, such as the indulgences, the cult about relics, the pilgrimage business and all the ostentatiousness of the church. Ultimately it was this matter of the concept of God and the relations between man and God. In the prevailing scholastic Occamistic conception, God was a strict world judge of pure caprice who always again had to be placated by good works. That was a God Luther could not reconcile himself with; that God tormented him.

In that he fared no different than many of his contemporaries. The mood of general crisis spread deep uncertainty about how that God could be pleased. Wavering between hope for eternal salvation and panic dread of divine judgment and infernal punishment made the thirst for ecclesiastic grace grow as much as the belief in witches and demons, the addiction to miracles and astrology. The idolization of saints and the cult of relics came to an unprecedented climax, processions and pilgrimages, religious endowments and fraternities increased by leaps and bounds. With it, many prophesies announced the approaching end of the world. Albrecht Duerer, for example, depicted the imminent terror of the last judgment in his famous "Apocalypse."

Martin Luther found the way out from these straits in the Bible: God is the loving father, and the just lives in accordance with his belief. Thereby Luther found a fundamentally new relationship between man and God: Man is justified before God through his faith only. No need for good works or for a priestly hierarchy to give man access to God. Thereby he placed the institution of the church itself in doubt. No papal decrees and council decisions can bind man. The Bible is the sole authority: "For this is the whole script that the Christians' and Christendom's cause must be judged solely by God, none of it ever having been justified by men on earth." And the institution of the church was explicitly called a human work by Luther, which could have no power over the Christians.

"Let us awake, dear Germans, and fear God more than men, lest we share the fate of all poor souls that so pitifully are being lost by the shameful devilish regimen of the Romans. As such devilish regimen is not only public thievery, deceit and tyranny of the hellish gate, but also corrupts Christendom in body and soul, we are in duty bound to exert all diligence toward averting such wretchedness and destruction of Christendom. As we rightly hang the thieves and decapitate robbers, why should we let go free the Roman greed, being the biggest thief and robber."

Direction and Goal

Luther's theology and his attack on the Roman church satisfied an urgent social need. They gave a direction and goal to the general will for change. And this was not only a matter of reforming the church but a more or less far-reaching change of society, in view of the position of the church as the international center of feudalism-as Friedrich Engels defined the papacy. Moreover, Martin Luther also addressed burning economic and social problems and sought biblically justified ways for solving these problems and, doing so, articulated ideas that could serve both further bourgeois development and the needs of the broad popular masses.

Luther's theological ideas and his ideas that were socially conditioned directly and entered into the social conflicts offered the various social forces, from the princes to the peasants and plebeians, leverage for legitimizing their own interests. That, on the one hand, was a basic prerequisite for the initially integrating function of the Lutheran doctrines, for gathering diverse, even oppositional, class forces in the broad revolutionary movement with which the German early bourgeois revolution began. On the other hand, it also explains the later legitimization of diverse, even oppositional, aspirations and interests by reference to Luther. This also provides a key for understanding why the reception of Luther throughout all subsequent history has been so uneven.

Fostering the Traditions

In getting set for honoring Martin Luther in the GDR on the occasion of his 500th birthday in 1983, we honor Luther in his whole greatness and his time and class-conditioned limitations. "Among the progressive traditions which we are fostering and furthering belongs the work and legacy of all those who have contributed to the progress and development of world culture, regardless of their social and class origin," as Erich Honecker put it in his speech at the constituent meeting of the GDR Martin Luther Committee. In that sense the 10th SED Congress also underscored the vast range of our fostering our tradition with reference to our tributes in recent years and months to Lessing, Herder, Beethoven, Kleist, Semper, Schinkel, Berlin, Brecht, Eisler, Busch and the upcoming tributes to Luther, Bach, Haendel, Schiller and Goethe.

We honor Martin Luther as the initiator of the Reformation with which the early bourgeois revolution began. We honor his cultural and creative linguistic achievements. We value his socio-ethical and economic ideas. We do not forget that Martin Luther is one of the Germans who attained to the highest prestige in the world. In Martin Luther we honor, as Erich Honecker emphasized, one "of the precursors of those upheavals which ushered in the collapse of feudalism and the emergence of the bourgeois revolutions in the German states and Europe."

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CRITICAL APPROACH TO GERMAN PHILOSOPHICAL LEGACY URGED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 128, 1 Sep 81 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "Against the Taboo on Nietzsche in the GDR--Essay by Director of Goethe and Schiller Archives, Weimar." A translation of the East German scholar's article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Hahn, director of the Goethe and Schiller Archives, Weimar, has come out against the taboo on Friedrich Nietzsche in the GDR. It was understandable, the noted scholar stated in an essay published by the Erfurt SED paper DAS VOLK (26 Aug 81), "that in a literary society like ours, where the ideas of social progress and humanism rate as the highest values, no space is given to a literature that spreads ideological positions such as are found in Friedrich Nietzsche's work." Yet it also was not proper "to pass it over in silence only." In this context Prof Hahn argued for a critical intellectual confrontation with Nietzsche's ideological positions.

Along with it, he pointed out that after his mental illness Friedrich Nietzsche spent the last 3 years of his life in the charge of his sister in Weimar, where nothing reminded us of his work. In view of Friedrich Nietzsche having been one of the most influential thinkers and writers of the German language in the late 19th century, the director of the Goethe and Schiller Archives brought up the question again that is often asked in Weimar, whether it was proper "not to commemorate him especially" in Weimar.

SED Scholar's Discussion

Erfurt DAS VOLK in German 26 Aug 81 p 6

['Cultural Policy' feature article by Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Hahn, SED member: "The Inheritor Inherits Also Useless Stuff--On Disputing Ideological Positions Whose Seductive and Dangerous Powers Continue Daily to Manifest Themselves"]

[Text] Comrade Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Hahn, director of the Goethe and Schiller Archives in Weimar, has expressed himself repeatedly in most recent days on the topic of our "legacy" in our paper.

His contribution today turns to that part of the national, artistic and intellectual legacy of our people that did not contribute to the progress of its society and still is of little use to us. Even so, perhaps because of it, it may require a critical confrontation all the more.

"He who wants to cope with the tasks of the present and make his way through the future securely needs the knowledge and experience of the past and must experience its cultural values." This statement from the rostrum of the 10th SED Congress has induced us for some time to publish now and then contributions from specialists particularly concerned with our preserving and extending our legacy. Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Hahn of Weimar thus explained in this paper some time ago how productive it can be for anyone to deal with our legacy ever-present in many forms. Today's contribution of his, written at a time when ideological struggles are escalating in the world, addresses that legacy which is not included in our people's progressive traditions and may well for that very reason require to be taken issue with critically.

Not everything that happens in our lives is permanently fixed in our memory. Facts, experiences and events which we think have significantly influenced our personal development are inevitably being recalled, however, may they be fine memories or bad experiences which, willy-nilly, keep cropping up. The same is true of history.

If, for example, in March 1898 a few sturdy gentlemen of so-called higher society planted a pine at the foot of the Kickelhahn near Ilmenau in honor of the 100th birthday of Emperor William I and attached a commemorative plaque to it, that has been absolutely forgotten today. Of those who were there, and who might remember, not one any longer is alive. The plaque has deteriorated and fallen down, and no one can any longer find the "emperor's pine."

Memories That Fade Incessantly

It was different when the same gentlemen--civil servants, manufacturers, lawyers, physicians, all members of the so-called Gabelbach Community--set markers for their community poets Victor von Scheffel and Rudolf Baumbach at crossroads still popular parts of hiking trails, which induce younger contemporaries and young hikers to inquire who precisely is being honored here, and why. Who is there left today who might know anything of that Gabelbach Community, half hiking club, half exclusive men's club, imperial and German-national in any case, and otherwise devoted to the joys of feasting and to amateur versifying. Count Bismarck was among the patrons and the Grand Dukes of Weimar as well, of course. A peculiar community statute, saturated with romantic embellishments of purported ancient German usage, sets down the office of the chairman and the community poet. Victor von Scheffel, author of numerous student songs, the verse narrative of the "Trumpeter of Saeckingen," and other things, and Rudolf Baumbach, known as the author of the song "High on the Yellow Wagon," whose house in Meiningen serves to this day as

an ethnological museum, both held that office. Is it worth burdening one's memory with such reminiscences, one may ask. Certainly not. For there were many such social circles of equal insignificance. Gradually the last memory of them will fade. It takes its time but proceeds incessantly.

Different again and yet similar it is when one discovers at Stuetzerbach in the Thuringian forest, that outpost of the former duchy of Weimar, a sign marked "Zum Schlossberg" [To Castle Mountain]. No castle is in evidence here at all. Some steel structures mark the summit, and otherwise there are only benches from which visitors at the spa may enjoy the beautiful view. Who is there left to remember that circa 250 years ago there was indeed a castle here, which however did not outlast its builder. His name was August, he was the duke of Weimar, and he was known as a complicated gentleman given to building castles wherever he pleased. Castle Belvedere in Weimar was included as much as the rococo castle in Dornburg. He squeezed Weimar into a belt of fortifications, slapped his privy councilors, engaged in intensive correspondence with the pious in his land, the pietists, sold soldiers and had to take it that his princely nephew on the Prussian throne, Frederick II, singled him out as a despicable example of a petty princeling.

Much From Former Times Remains Uninteresting to Historiography

There often were such Ernst Augusts. Almost every village in which today a former mansion or castle reminds of past splendor can come up with reminiscences of similar despots, and anecdotes about them sometimes still make the round. Can such memories simply be passed over in silence, in the hope that the veil of oblivion will not fail to have its effect? I think they can. Much from former times remains uninteresting to historiography and is gradually forgotten. That is true of those imperials and their Gabelbach Community and of the many Ernst Augusts, whose peculiarities finally will no longer be of interest to anyone and who in the memory of future generations will at best appear here and there as examples of what things were like in past ages.

But what about authors of the past whose works were printed in many editions and can still be found in many homes, and to whom sometimes also monuments and memorial plaques refer? Quite some older contemporaries are likely to recall a story which was part of mandatory reading still in the 1920's and 1930's. It tells of two brothers, pupils at an officer's training-school, who get mixed up in all sorts of embarrassments. Its title was "Das edle Blut" [Noble Blood] and its author, Ernst von Wildenbruch, illegitimate offspring of Prince Louis Ferdinand von Hohenzollern, who fell in battle at Saalfeld in 1806 in the campaign against Napoleon. Wildenbruch, poet of the Hohenzollern Dynasty, had special preference for Weimar, where he spent the last years of his life. Admirers set up a monument of him which until a few years ago stood in the Poseck Garden in Weimar, had to be removed temporarily when the garden was refurbished, and then was forgotten to be put back. Hardly anyone has missed it. Who, after all, would remember that poet, and which young person could still connect any clear ideas with that monument?

Wildenbruch, Freytag and Marlitt Uncritically Reflected and Glorified Their Time

There is a house in Siebleben near Gotha which reminds us that about hundred years ago one of the most productive story tellers of that time, Gustav Freytag, lived there, whose work hardly anyone remembers any longer. In Arnstadt, a memorial plaque

reminds us of the author Eugenie John, who wrote under the name Marlitt, and whose skillfully wrought and suspenseful novels were read with preference by the petty bourgeoisie and middle class.

Wildebruch, Freytag and Marlitt were authors who thoroughly understood their craft. Their novels, dramas and poems excel through their appropriate language and well balanced form. They were acclaimed by their contemporaries, yet today they are by and large forgotten. This probably mainly because in their writings they exclusively--even if in different ways--reflected the spirit of that Prussian-aristocratic-bourgeois atmosphere which marked the German Empire toward the end of the 19th century, glorifying it uncritically, indeed apologetically. And also because they essentially refused--at least in their writings--to reflect the basic social contradiction of their age, the approaching social revolution and the struggle by the revolutionary workers movement against the vehemently spreading authorities and champions of imperialism. Thereby they removed themselves, as it were, from the process of history, sold themselves to the order of the day, and so initiated their being forgotten in the not too distant future themselves.

Becher Called Him a "Torso"

It was altogether different with another author of that time. Realizing--as he thought--that the real world defied human understanding, a "culture had been initiated" which he "dared call tragic, having for its most important mark that the place of science as the highest goal was taken by wisdom which, undeceived by the seductive treatises of the sciences, rigidly turns to the total picture of the world and in it seeks to comprehend, through sympathetic love, suffering as its own pain." "Let us imagine," so it continues, "a growing generation with such a fearlessness of view, with this heroic thrust into the immense, imagine the bold step of such dragon killers, the proud daring which turns its back to the feeble doctrines of that optimism (of science), so as to live resolutely in what is whole and full."

This text--much though it may suit the vocabulary of fascism--does not come from the last war years, nor is it anywhere close to the lyrical poetry of the PRG whose verse gets lost with "laughter in the cave, of eternal night." No, that text was printed as long ago as in 1871, at a time when the natural sciences were about to open up new spaces to mankind. Its author was Friedrich Nietzsche, mentally ill in 1889, who spent the last 5 years of his life under the care of his sister in Weimar. Nothing there reminds of his work, and conversely--except for his undisputed enthusiasm for Lessing and Goethe--Weimar never played a role in his life and work. Even so the question often comes up whether it would not be appropriate to commemorate him in particular in Weimar.

No doubt, Friedrich Nietzsche was among the most influential thinkers and writers in German in the late 19th century. Strange contradictions mark his work. In one and the same breath he pays homage to Lessing's and Goethe's world of ideas and argues against the "theoretical optimism" that takes for granted the "faith in the intelligibility of the nature of things," and that man's knowledge and search for understanding is the highest gift. The cultural disintegration of bourgeois society is cogently and sharply criticized, while there is expressed an acknowledgement of the dread of the "barbaric slave morality that has learned to regard its own

existence as an error," mocking any efforts on behalf of humanism and the self-liberation of the workers class by the words, "the good brute wants his rights; what paradisical prospects!"

"Christianity, democracy, socialism," as J. R. Becher wrote, "is the trinity which Nietzsche regarded as the great mortal enemy, the decisive ideological opponent to the outbreak of barbarism." In a manner of incantation, at times in a strikingly pregnant and brilliant language, sentences are pronounced, theoretical positions are attacked, and are confronted with reflections voluntaristic and mythological in character. As a labyrinth of sociocritical, anti-humanistic and bombastically pronounced principles for a "tragic world-outlook," holding up suffering as the preordained form of human existence, the whole thing emerges as a confusing and at times narcotizing sequence of ideas which prevents rational, reasonable, justifiable decisions and instead releases psychologically uncontrollable instincts. "A destroyer of any objective thought in terms of stable values and a boundless consumer of all convictions," this is how J. R. Becher described the "Torso Nietzsche." Accurately speaking, Nietzsche radically negates the question about the possibility of human self-determination and the control over nature, ignoring all traditional scientific insights and philosophical cognition.

Baffled Imperialism Sets the Ground for That "Tragic World-Outlook"

Such ideas certainly are not liable to be forgotten in our present days. On the contrary, the more hopeless the crisis of imperialist society becomes, the more widely pessimism and despair will spread and set the stage of Nietzsche's "tragic world-outlook" and the dubious pathetic heroism derived from it. Almost every day thoughts of this sort are encountered in the theoretical, poetry and journalistic texts from imperialistic publishing houses and journals, and in dismay one recalls that we have had all that once before, in the time after World War I. The consequences, fascism and rapacious imperialist war, are all too well remembered.

A legacy this too, but one that is more like the poisoned apple the evil step-mother hands to the hated princess in the fairy tale, who then eats it unsuspectingly and almost suffers death. Understandable it is that in a literary society like ours, where the ideas of social progress and humanism rate as the highest values, no space is given to a literature that spreads ideological positions such as are found in Friedrich Nietzsche's work. Yet it is not proper to pass it over in silence only. Ideological steadfastness and the capacity to judge scientifically, coupled with resolute party-mindedness on behalf of socialism, are needed. They form an indispensable prerequisite for taking issue with ideological positions which still manifest every day how seductive and dangerous they are.

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NEED FOR INCREASED ATTENTION TO LABOR SAFETY IN SCHOOLS

Bucharest TRIBUNA SCOLII in Romanian 19 Sep 81 p 8

[Article by Prof. Constantin Staiculescu, deputy chairman of the Committee of the Union of Trade Unions in Education, Science and Culture]

[Text] Health care and labor safety are special issues in the programs worked out for the multilateral growth of our country. These issues are periodically examined by the party and state leadership. For instance, at its session last May, the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP discussed the report on the status of labor safety in 1980 and assessed that the measures outlined in this area resulted in increased responsibility and greater concern for continuous improvement of working conditions, prevention and reduction of accidents, better utilization of our state's appropriations for labor safety.

Moreover, the Political Executive Committee assessed that the number of accidents still is great and allotted the economic ministries, the Ministry of Labor, and the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions additional important tasks of upgrading the activity in this field. Special emphasis was placed on matters of strengthening order and discipline at every place of work, overall amplification of preventive supervisory projects, upgrading of training and propaganda in the area of labor safety, enhancement of the responsibility of the organizers and leaders of work processes, higher quality in labor safety instruction in all the forms of vocational training: qualification classes, schools, lyceums, and higher education institutes.

In light of these tasks, the Ministry of Education and Instruction, with the aid of the Ministry of Labor and with the participation of economic ministries, took steps to improve labor safety activities, specifying the specialized textbooks for the tuition involved. Many educational facilities have been provided with labor safety offices that contain the required equipment (projectors, films, slides, material on the national and departmental standards, collections of regulatory acts, leaflets, and so forth.

Based on the decision of the Conference of the Union of Trade Unions held last March, the great majority of trade union committees, of trade union groups in schools responsibly involved themselves in upgrading the labor safety activity. They conducted intensive political-organizational work focused on knowledge and implementation of labor safety regulations, specifically of characteristic job standards, by teaching

personnel, the technical-administrative staff and students. The trade union organizations, through public inspectors, work to continuously enhance strictness in implementing labor safety regulations in shops, laboratories, boarding schools, cafeterias, for the wise utilization of the labor safety funds, maintenance of a permanent contact with trade unions in the enterprises where the students' practical training is conducted.

In addition to the emphasis on the positive aspects reported at the meeting of the Executive Bureau of the Union of Trade Unions in Education, Science and Culture held in September this year, there was criticism of the shortcomings that are still found in the area of labor safety activity. For instance, in some vocational lyceums and schools, teaching of knowledge on labor safety and hygiene is not conducted properly, verification along the line and at examinations in terms of assimilations of labor safety instruction is not a concern of all teachers in the specialized disciplines, and this results in many students not paying the necessary attention to knowledge and implementation of labor safety regulations. The training in this area often is formal, much too general, without connections to the specific matters of the jobs.

Although measures to upgrade the practical training of students have been taken in recent years, serious shortcomings are still found, as for instance: electrically powered equipment, installations and apparatus without protection by grounding; power or distribution boards without warning signals, with unmarked circuits, uncalibrated fuses, fuses without insulating mat; improper storage of chemicals and other inflammable materials; the considerable wear of some facilities transferred from manufacturing units, that do not ensure safety in the work process; lack of specialized technical assistance and supervision for students during practical work in the shops.

Furthermore, it was assessed that not all trade unions in school units pay enough attention to organizing educational projects for the purpose of acquaintance with labor safety regulations, increase in the involvement of the persons who were legally assigned duties in this area. The trade union groups do not discuss and do not propose steps to punish those who violate discipline standards and labor safety regulations.

In line with the instructions given by Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the RCP, at the Congress of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions, the Executive Bureau of the Union of Trade Unions in Education, Science and Culture will participate in inspections conducted by the Ministry of Education and Instruction on the manner in which the training is provided and how labor safety knowledge is assimilated by students, how this knowledge is used during practical production work and in evolving the graduation design.

Special attention will be paid to ensuring the mass character of the contest for the various trades in vocational lyceums and schools, an opportunity for verifying knowledge in the job involved and also knowledge regarding labor safety and technique.

Guidance and support will be given to education trade unions for their taking firmer action aimed at: acquaintance of all teaching and technical-administrative personnel with labor safety questions and the legal duties assigned to them in this field;

assimilation and following of standards in terms of labor safety technique and hygiene; enhancement of public supervision and greater strictness in relation to implementation of labor safety standards in shops, laboratories, hostels, and cafeterias; sensible use of appropriations for labor safety; permanent contact with trade unions in enterprises where student practical production work is conducted.

During this period, on a countrywide scale, many students are involved in gathering the harvest. It is the duty of all the teaching staff throughout the unfolding of this patriotic work, as it is in all the activities involving students at school and extracurricularly (sports events, cultural and artistic activities, trips, and so forth) to ensure, in close cooperation with all educational personnel, the safety of the lives of children in this country.

Proceeding from the lofty role of the school, as the chief factor of education and molding the new man, of training the work force, the cadres, the trade unions organs and organizations, under the guidance of party organizations, must focus on mobilizing all workers in precollege education to make intensive and qualitative efforts which will result in harmoniously blending theoretical training and practical training, fostering in students devotion to the job of their choice, spirit of order and discipline and responsibility for the duties assigned in the production process. These are the guidelines outlined by Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the RCP, in his speech at the opening of the 1981/1982 academic year at the big popular rally in Craiova, a valuable theoretical and practical guide for all the servants of the school, a fervent call to devoted and passionate work for the firm implementation of the decisions of the 12th RCP Congress.

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SOCIAL INEQUITIES SKETCHED IN YOUTH PERIODICAL

Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian 14 Sep 81 p 6

[Article by Branko Vuksan: "My Friends"]

[Text] Slobodan

My friend Slobodan works in one of the Belgrade worker (or perhaps people's) universities, where his concern is cultural programs. Activity in this area has not been up to the potential, and Slobodan, with the blessing and support of staff members (the director or administrator particularly) made a real effort. He wanted to introduce quite a few innovations in the organization of culture. He shaped ideas, went all over the city trying to find people, and took care so that everything would be as inexpensive as possible. The first year he was only moderately successful, as one can well understand. Everything was paid for out of the funds realized in the "university's" other activities, which are mostly educational activities, from dancing classes to courses in tailoring. In making preparations for the coming year my friend, at the director's request, drew up a maximum program and made maximum cost estimates in order to obtain money from the SIZ [self-managing community of interest] for culture. Everything passed through the SIZ with the greatest ease, and associated labor swallowed the programs offered without a word. However, the program was not carried out on anything like the scale imagined, nor did Slobodan receive support from other staff members and the director. Sizable amounts of money were not used, but they did not go unspent. They were swallowed up by the entire staff through the profit-sharing arrangement. Slobodan protested, but the director told him not to be naive: The funds could not be carried over to the next year, and the report would state that they were spent for the intended purpose.

My friend was unable to accept this manipulation and on his own initiative presented a report of his own in the meeting of the SIZ for culture. In that report he proposed that the "university" return the unspent funds to associated labor. The delegate of the "university" disputed Slobodan's right to attend the meeting, and the other users of services concurred. The worker delegates were not to be fooled, and they demanded a precise report and return of the funds.

Jasna

My friend Jasna works as a translator in a large construction firm which is striving (and succeeding of late) to obtain as many contracts as possible abroad. Thus on one occasion a delegation came from some country to conclude a contract. During the several days of negotiations they took the delegation around to various places of interest. My friend was indispensable as an interpreter. It seems that the guests got the idea that her job included satisfying any desire the guests might have. One evening after dinner one of the guests, we assume a bit under the influence, wanted Jasna to go to his room with him. She flatly refused. The guest, a bit confused, looked at Jasna's boss, who found himself in the uncomfortable position of a man who has not fulfilled a promise. Realizing what was going on, Jasna left the scene.

I hear from her now and again, and she says that she no longer accompanies the delegations.

Zoran

My friend Zoran holds a professional political position in the opstina LCY committee of an opstina in Belgrade. His job consists of monitoring, writing and classifying reports and material on certain subjects in the work of the opstina committee. His duties also included preparing and writing speeches by various committee officials. From the beginning he noticed that all these many reports and speeches were written in a language that was extremely impoverished and vague to the point of meaninglessness. Unable to do that kind of work, he tried to make his writing fresher and devoid of empty phrases. This was noticed by an official responsible for a report which Zoran had written. He called him in and told him that "everything he had written could be stated more easily." Zoran countered by saying that copying and reworking previous reports led nowhere. The official did not have time to discuss the matter and decided that the writing should conform to the previous pattern. Zoran simply copied a report from a few years back, making slight changes, and the official was satisfied and said: "You see that you can and know how when you want to." Zoran told him what he had done, and the official took offense and sent him to the committee secretary. Having heard Zoran's explanation, uttering the well-known "I understand how you feel, but . . ." the secretary told him an elaborate tale about how it was once thought that professional political officials, which in a way are like technocrats in the political field, held a power which formally they did not have, and that now those same professional political officials have no right to make statements or complain lest it be said that they want something they are not entitled to. Zoran noticed that the lifeless language he was combating was advantageous to careerists, since they find the greatest safety in empty rhetoric. The secretary went on to assure him that he understood how he felt, but then, dispensing with the false cordiality, he told him: "That is not your concern."

My friend intended to quit the job, but where was he to find a new one in Belgrade? He stayed on to rescue the language from the political (il)literates.

Vera

My friend Vera works in the library of one of the schools at the university. When she started working there, she noticed that the other librarians almost always came to work late, left early, and often were absent for several hours at a time during working hours. And when they were present, they spent their time in endless storytelling and idleness. At the beginning Vera put up with this style of "work," not wanting to be hasty in judging her colleagues. Since this style was by no means a passing thing, she made it evident in conversations that what they were doing was wrong. They laughed, supposing that she was joking. One fellow worker told her that professors do what they like, and no one asks any questions, so why should they be so foolish as to break their backs? She told him that this did not justify their own idleness, and he said: "Young lady, you are meddling in affairs which don't concern you. Live and let live."

My friend was unable to leave it at that, and she raised the issue of shortcomings in operation of the library at a party meeting. A few days later she was called in by the disciplinary commission on the charge that she had issued books to students without marking the due date.

Marko

My friend Marko works as an economist in a specialized staff service at one of our large banks. His boss is out of place in this service, since his training was in an altogether different field and he does not understand the nature of the work at all. He has committed several errors which were a good illustration that he is over his head. Everyone knows this, but keeps quiet. When Marko noted this as well, they told him it was better not to make problems, since the boss was a close relative of another (higher) boss and probably would remain here only until the big boss thrust him into some better position. The supervisor continued to commit errors. In a meeting of the work community which Marko did not attend one of the boss' errors happened to be attributed to Marko, and disciplinary proceedings were instituted. The rest were silent. But two of my friend's young colleagues did point out that the error was not Marko's, since he had not worked on that case at all. The supervisor went red in the face and concluded that Marko was organizing the young people and rebelling against him, which he could not tolerate. The other people were silent. The supervisor instituted proceedings against the three "rebels." In the meeting of the commission they calmly pointed out the true state of affairs, supporting what they said with arguments.

The commission penalized them with a verbal admonition for having undermined the prestige of an immediate supervisor. At just about that same time the immediate supervisor went on sick leave, waiting for some other job to be found for him.

Ivana

My friend Ivana works as an electrical engineer in a scientific institution of a large and prestigious work organization in Zagreb. Her fellow workers did not greet her with open arms because she was the first person of the female sex in

their institution. Her presence interfered with conversations on "male topics." Not only that, but the "young lady" allowed herself to comment that there was much more talk than work. "Revenge" came in the form of refusal of all assistance. The technicians (draftsmen) refused to do their part of the job on her designs. She complained to the boss, but that did not essentially correct the situation.

The brotherhood of engineers was not overenergetic in self-management, and they "arranged" for Ivana to be their delegate in the supreme self-managing body. After a time Ivana, who is by nature a bit withdrawn and quiet, managed to put through the idea of variable working hours for those who found such a system convenient. Since her fellow engineers had been debating this issue with one another, they were surprised to hear that their colleague had succeeded in establishing that right even though they had not discussed it with her at all. Ivana now writes me that the situation is better, but that there is still quite a bit that should be done.

Slavko

My friend Slavko is a mechanical engineer working in a large factory in the heart of the Morava Valley. The salaries are not good at all, but people get along somehow. Slavko likes his job and quickly became involved and familiar with the problems of his factory. Thus a certain time passed, and a worker caucus was convened. They were deciding on distribution of money which they had unexpectedly received from a debtor. A calculation showed that the money should be used to pay off a certain debt. The accounts receivable and accounts payable were barely in balance. But the workers' council came forth with a proposal that the money be shared out through personal incomes. Everyone was in favor of that. My friend stood up and said that it was stupid to divide up money when it should be used to pay off a debt. There was an uproar against Slavko, and people said that the money for the debt could be obtained from other resources, but no one knew what those other resources were. Then they made excuses for Slavko, saying that he was still young and did not understand things. The proposal was adopted to divide up the money. With one vote against.

P.S. Does anyone else have friends like these?

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BRIEFS

PARTY EXPULSIONS IN PETRINJA--Immediately following this summer's measures taken on behalf of social protection of self-management in the "Braca Hanzek" educational center [in Petrinja, Croatia], it was reported that party-political accountability will be established for several LC members who, consciously or unconsciously, impeded the cleaning up of problems in regard to relations at the center. They paralyzed action by the sociopolitical community, imposed themselves in the basic LC organization and thereby made it impossible for the positive sociopolitical process to eliminate the problems in operation of this secondary school institution which has almost 100 staff members and nearly 1,300 students. The comrades council of the committee of the Petrinja Opstina LC Conference established the political accountability of eight teachers and imposed party measures at the last two meetings of the committee. Professors Bozo Judas, Adam Pavlovic, Milja Popovic and Jadranka Cacic were expelled from the LC. A final warning was given to Professor Mirjana Vučenović, and warnings were given to Professor Slavko Vučnović and to Dragica Jekić, graduate engineer. The measures were taken unanimously following discussions at which the above teachers were present. Numerous weaknesses have been noted in the basic LC organization. Among other things, the committee accepted the judgment that the penalized comrades had even tried to liquidate the center and had persistently written false public reports, publishing them even in VJESNIK. [Text] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 81 p 10]

PRIEST SENTENCED--On 22 October the criminal council of the Mostar District Court after a 2-day discussion, sentenced Jozo Zovko (40) from the village of Uzarici near Listica and parish priest in the village of Medjugorje in Ciluk Općina, to 3 1/2 years in prison, for hostile propaganda which was fully proved in the course of the discussions. [Excerpt] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 81 p 8]

IMAM SENTENCED IN BIJELJINA--The opština magistrates court in Bijeljina sentenced Zejnil Colić, imam from Janje, to 60 days in prison for violating Article 2, Points 5 and 7 of the Law on Public Peace and Order, by denigrating state organs and official persons who were carrying out their duties, as well as discrediting the patriotic and national feelings of citizens who live in the SFRY. [Excerpt] [Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 8 Oct 81 p 20]

KOSOVO DELEGATE DEFENDS DEMONSTRATORS--At the last meeting of the Kosovo Assembly Vahide Dusku, delegate in the Council of Associated Labor, tried to defend a number of participants in the hostile and counterrevolutionary demonstrations, by

saying that they were not to blame, that they had been too harshly sentenced, because it was a question of young people who had been misled and who had risen up against social injustices. Vahide Dusku repeated, without hesitation, some of the hostile concepts on which irredentist forces had started to develop their black ideas. After her comments, the assembly delegates distanced themselves from such discussion, aware of the truth that this [discussion] showed a lack of understanding and was perhaps even hostile. All the progressive people of Kosovo justifiably ask in whose name she was speaking and how it is possible that among the Kosovo Provincial Assembly delegates there are those who think almost the same as the leaders of the hostile demonstrations. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 2 Oct 81 p 4]

'FASCIST' INCIDENTS AT SCHOOLS--Last week the section for education, science, culture, and physical education of the Federal SAWPY Conference organized a discussion with editors of pedagogic publications throughout the country. Those in SAWP wanted to reach an agreement on how pedagogic publications can give more space to developing and strengthening Yugoslav socialist patriotism and community, and to realizing the goals of Marxist education. Most of these editors were obviously surprised that they had been invited to such a discussion on such a [federal] level. They said that their publications were [in many cases] outside the educational system, that they were in very difficult economic situations, etc. But in fact those who rarely attended meetings, who were "outside the system," who had not even elementary information about what is happening in another republic or province--these editors had to give vent to their dissatisfaction. They asked: What is happening in some local communities, in some school in a particular local community when a poor director is persistently re-elected every 4 years? What factors are stronger than we or our school or our influence, when direct hostile, even fascist, action has appeared in some 15 school centers in Yugoslavia? Have we been so politically and professionally irresponsible or opportunistic, or have we so neglected socialist patriotism that a large number of students in a center commemorating the revolution could sign their full names under the words, "Long Live Ante Pavelic"? Why cannot the true and only possible method of Marxist critical evaluation be found between the two extremes (either praise of or attack on the author) in reviewing textbooks? These and other questions the editors had not written about in their papers, nor had they been clearly discussed in public for a long time. That which is happening throughout the country in the field of education following the well-known Kosovo events, indicates something else: schools and teachers cannot place themselves to one side in the general social will. [Excerpts] [Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 25 Sep 81 p 4]

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